CHAPTER 15

The Quest for Canadian Unity

Figure 15-1 Canada is a vast country whose diverse peoples often feel strong loyalties to their own groups or nations. The photos on this page show some symbols that are important to peoples of various cultures and nations within Canada. Promoting a sense of national unity in a country as diverse as Canada is often a challenge.

CHAPTER ISSUE

Should Canadian unity be promoted?

SUPPOSE YOU AND YOUR CLOSE FRIENDS want to do something together but you cannot decide what. One friend suggests a movie, another must finish an essay, and another wants to go to the mall. You wanted to do something together, but your conflicting needs and wants are getting in the way.

The Canadian government often faces similar challenges. The government must manage the country and hold it together despite change and citizens' diverse wants and needs. Even when Canadians share similar goals, they may not agree on the best way of achieving them.

Examine the images on the previous page, then respond to the following questions:

- What is the main message of the collage? What does it suggest about the challenges and opportunities of creating national unity in Canada?
- Why do you think the Canadian flag and the Peace Tower are placed in the centre of the collage?
- Is the red maple leaf a strong enough symbol to unite Canada? What would you suggest as a symbol that all Canadians can identify with?
- If you could choose one more symbol to add to this collage, what would it be? What message would it send?

KEY TERMS

patriated

equalization payments

inherent right

ecozone

economic nationalists

LOOKING AHEAD

In this chapter, you will explore whether Canadian national unity should be promoted. You will do this by developing responses to the following questions:

- What is national unity?
- How does the nature of Canada affect national unity?
- How has the changing face of Canada affected national unity?

My Journal on Nationalism

You are approaching the end of your exploration of nationalism. Review your journal entries. How has your understanding of nationalism changed since you started this course? Why do you think your understanding has changed? Date your ideas so that you can return to them as you complete this course.

What is national unity?

People's feelings of unity — oneness — with others is often closely tied to their sense of identity. Those who feel they belong to a particular group often feel a sense of unity with that group.

Think about your school. To what extent do students root for school teams, display school colours, or take part in school-wide projects? How do activities like these help promote a sense of unity in your school community?

When people feel a sense of national unity, they identify with others who belong to the same nation. For many Canadians, this sense of national identity and unity means sharing basic beliefs and values, such as respect for diversity.

Respecting diversity means that all Canadians do not have to be the same or speak with a single voice. In a 1971 speech to the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau expressed this idea when he said: "There is no such thing as a model or ideal Canadian. What could be more absurd than the concept of an 'all Canadian' boy or girl? A society which emphasizes uniformity is one which creates intolerance and hate."

Many people believe that a society in which diverse people agree to live together according to rules based on specific values and beliefs is a civic nation — and Canada is often used as an example of a civic nation. In civic nations, promoting national unity often involves trying to achieve consensus.

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You read about the relationship between nationalism and identity, as well as the concept of a civic nation, in Chapter 1.

Forces Affecting National Unity

Citizens' sense of national unity is stronger at some times than at others. Both external and internal events can influence citizens' concern with national unity.

During World Wars I and II, for example, many Canadians felt a strong sense of national unity. More than 100 000 Canadians died in those wars. Through the years, Remembrance Day ceremonies across Canada have become powerful symbols of national unity. Many people wear the poppy to identify with those who died and with the veterans who survived. Every year, people gather in large and small communities at 11 a.m. on November 11 to honour Canadians who fought in those wars.

Figure 15-2 Veteran Archibald McEllan (left) attends a ceremony at the University of Alberta in Edmonton on Remembrance Day, 2003. Eleanor Ryan (right) places a poppy on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier on Remembrance Day, 2007. How do annual ceremonies like Remembrance Day contribute to national unity?

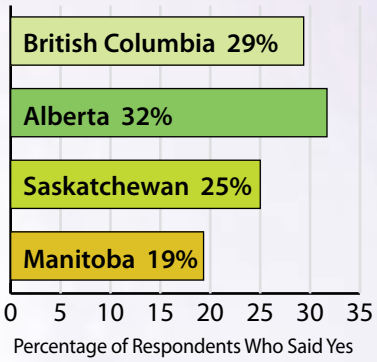
Fragile Unity

Some Canadians believe that national unity will eventually break down and Canada will become a number of smaller countries. In 2006, for example, a poll conducted by Innovative Research Group found that one in every three Canadians believed that Québec will have separated by the year 2020.

Another 2006 poll commissioned by *Western Standard* magazine and COMPAS, a public opinion research company, found that nearly one-third of Alberta respondents believed that Canada's western provinces should think about forming their own country.

Examine the polling results in Figure 15-3. Consider these figures along with Canadians' feelings about Québec's separation. Do these figures suggest that Canadians' sense of unity is fragile? Or do they show Canada's strength? Explain your response.

Figure 15-3 Opinions of Westerners on Separation, 2006



MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Maude Barlow

Dedicated to Canadian Unity

Figure 15-4 Maude Barlow strongly believes that individual Canadians can bring about positive change in the country.

While Maude Barlow was growing up in Ottawa, Ontario, she watched her father campaign for prison reform. He had fought in World War II and had witnessed wartime atrocities. He returned home determined to help change the world. His sense of social justice inspired his daughter to follow in his footsteps.

In 1985, Barlow and a group of concerned citizens founded the Council of Canadians, a national advocacy group that has about 100 000 members. Under Barlow's leadership, the group's activities have focused on protecting "Canadian independence by promoting progressive policies on fair trade, clean water, energy security, public health care, and other issues of social and economic concern to Canadians."

Barlow is also a director of the International Forum on Globalization. This think tank examines the challenges and opportunities of globalization.

Barlow believes that international laws and trade agreements must benefit everyone, not just businesses and political groups. She also believes that Canada is too cozy with the United States and should pursue a more independent course in international affairs.

Barlow is a passionate Canadian nationalist who believes in "popular sovereignty" — "the fundamental right of people in Canada and all over the world to food, housing, jobs, education, health, democratic choice, and dignity." She says that nation-states must protect these rights.

Barlow believes passionately in the importance of Canadian sovereignty and the power of individuals to bring about positive change. "I go crazy when I see certain things and I have to find out why they happen," she told CBC's *Life and Times*. "And I have to tell people . . . I have to do something so that other people will also take action."

EXPLORATIONS

1. Maude Barlow has built a career by working outside Canada's political system. Does the work of people like Barlow help or hurt Canadian unity? Explain your response.
2. Conduct online research to find out more about the Council of Canadians. Would you consider joining this group? Explain the reasons for your judgment.

Canadian National Unity

Canada is the world's second-largest country. Its relatively small population is spread over six time zones and regions with very different physical characteristics. The people in these regions may live quite different lives and face different concerns. And they probably have many different points of view and perspectives on issues.

What is an issue to someone in rural Alberta, for example, may not be important to residents of Vancouver or Iqaluit — and vice versa. In addition, Canadians come from varied cultural and ethnic backgrounds. They speak many different languages. Their personal histories and experiences may be very different. This variety often makes it a challenge for anyone to promote national unity by expressing a single vision of Canada.

Within Canada, individuals, groups, and collectives often feel contending loyalties and sometimes have trouble finding common ground. Increasing globalization has complicated the experience of national identity and unity even more. Take someone who was born in England to Indian and Pakistani parents, then spent her formative years in South Africa before moving to Alberta to pursue a rewarding career. She may have a particular view of Canadian unity. Her view may be different from that of an immigrant with a different history or that of someone born and raised in Alberta.

Figure 15-5 All these photographs — a windfarm in East Point, Prince Edward Island; a farm near Pincher Creek, Alberta; and a crowded Toronto street — show images of Canada. How do they reflect the challenge of achieving national unity? How do they reflect the many identities of Canadians?

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. In the first column of a chart like the one shown, list five groups, collectives, or nations to which you feel loyalty. In the second column, rank each according to its importance to you. Use a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = not very important; 5 = very important).
2. In the third column of the chart, note the key goal(s) of each group, collective, or nation. Place an asterisk beside goals that may conflict and be prepared to explain the source of the potential conflict.
3. In the fourth column, briefly explain whether and how each loyalty promotes or discourages Canadian unity.

My Loyalties			
Group, Collective, or Nation	Ranking of Importance to Me	Key Goal(s)	Effect on Canadian Unity

How does the nature of Canada affect national unity?

Keeping a group together can be a challenge. Think about your own experience with groups. Individuals often have different goals and concerns, and those differences can cause conflict among group members. Finding ways to settle conflicts — and keep the group together — can be difficult.

Nations and countries experience similar challenges. This is especially true of a country as large and diverse as Canada.

Is national unity a goal worth pursuing?

The Geography of Canada

Canada stretches from the Arctic and Pacific sea coasts, over tundra and mountains, across prairies, past the Canadian Shield and the St. Lawrence lowlands, to the Appalachian region and the Atlantic coast.

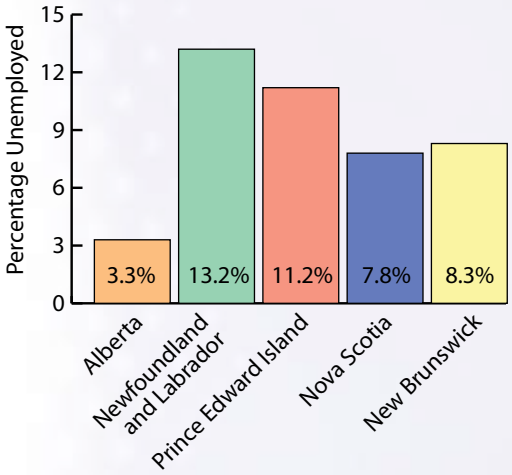
The geography of Canadian regions is very different. Because of geography, the needs of people living in the Appalachian region on the East Coast are different from the needs of people living on the Prairies. These differing needs may create tensions between people of different regions.

Since 2002, for example, Alberta has had the highest rate of economic growth ever recorded by a Canadian province. Alberta has the highest employment rate of any province in Canada — or any state in the United States. Alberta's prosperity has attracted skilled workers from other provinces. Many people from the Atlantic provinces, for example, have moved west to find jobs. This migration has left provinces like Newfoundland and Labrador without some of their most skilled workers.

Climate change is another example of an issue that can present challenges and opportunities. In the North, climate change is destroying the habitat of some animals that people harvest for food. But in Saskatchewan and other more southerly areas, farmers may benefit from a longer growing season.

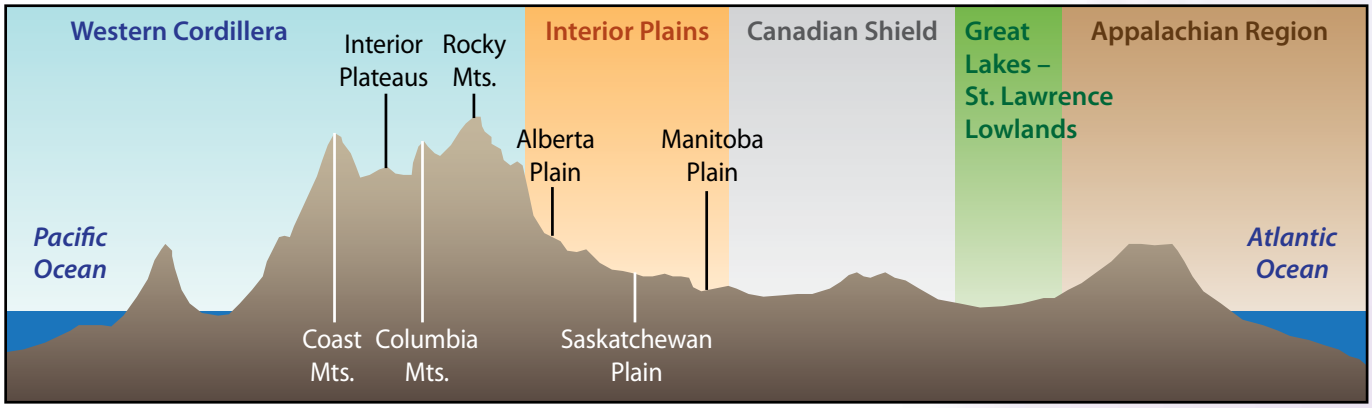
Examine the cross-section of Canada shown in Figure 15-7. How does this cross-section illustrate the geographic challenges and opportunities presented in Canada? How might these challenges and opportunities affect Canadian unity?

Figure 15-6 Unemployment Rates — Alberta and Atlantic Region, May 2008



Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey, June 6, 2008

Figure 15-7 Cross-Section of Landform Regions along Canada–U.S. Border



Western Alienation

The federal government decides how tax money collected from Canadians will be spent. Tax revenue helps pay for various federally funded programs, including health care, post-secondary education, and farm improvement loans. Federal funding also pays for regional programs, such as environmental green programs in Québec and tsunami preparedness in British Columbia.

But federal goals and spending do not always match the goals and needs of people in specific regions of the country. Some Canadians believe that not everyone benefits equally from federal programs. In Alberta and other Western provinces, this belief has sometimes led to feelings of alienation.

In 1982, when the battle over the National Energy Program was in full swing, these feelings of alienation came to a head. The federal government and the province of Alberta argued over who should control oil development and revenues.

Some Westerners wanted more say in federal decisions. Others argued that the western provinces should form their own independent country.

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You read about the National Energy Program in Chapter 4.

VOICES

It is imperative to take the initiative to build firewalls around Alberta, to limit the extent to which an aggressive and hostile federal government can encroach upon legitimate provincial jurisdiction.

— Stephen Harper and others, in a letter to Alberta premier Ralph Klein, 2001

"The West Wants In"

The most successful national political movement to emerge from Alberta led to the founding of the Reform Party — now part of the Conservative Party of Canada — in 1986. This party was led by Preston Manning and has deep roots in rural Alberta.

In the 1993 federal election, the party's slogan was "The West wants in." Reformers wanted a greater voice and more control over decisions made in Ottawa. They went on to win 52 seats in the House of Commons. By the time the 1997 election was called, the Reform Party had enough support in Western Canada to gain 60 seats and form the official opposition.

Some Westerners went farther; they wanted separation. In 1982, Gordon Kesler, a member of the newly formed Western Canada Concept Party, won a provincial by-election in the Alberta riding of Olds-Didsbury. Kesler lost the seat in a general election held a few months later, but his win showed the depth of some Westerners' feelings of alienation.

Kesler's party said it would create a new country in the territory west of the Ontario–Manitoba border. Although the Western Canada Concept Party continues to exist, its extreme policies, such as ending immigration, have kept it on the margins. But since then, other parties supporting Western separation have also sprung up.

Read the words of Stephen Harper and others in "Voices" on this page. Once Harper became prime minister, he said that his views on building a firewall — a fireproof wall — had changed. What might have caused him to change his position?

Figure 15-8 In September 1993, Preston Manning (left) campaigned for the Reform Party in Vancouver. In the 1997 federal election, his party was declared the official opposition. How might the 1997 election results have affected Westerners' feelings of alienation?

Alienation in Other Regions

At times, Canadians in other regions — the North and the Atlantic region, for example — have also felt alienated from the federal government. In 2007, Newfoundland and Labrador and the federal government continued to argue over oil royalties.

Newfoundland and Labrador had been in economic difficulty ever since it became part of Canada in 1949. But in 1979, oil was discovered in the Hibernia oil field on the Grand Banks just off the coast. Since then, a huge development project has been in the works. The first oil was extracted in 1997, and the oil and gas industry has become very important to the province's economy.

In 2007, Premier Danny Williams was so angry about the dispute over royalties that he ordered the Canadian flag on all provincial buildings lowered to half-mast. He viewed this action as a symbolic declaration of the death of peaceful arrangements between the two levels of government.

Does this dispute over oil royalties suggest that Alberta has more in common with Newfoundland and Labrador than many people think? Explain your response.

Figure 15-9 In 1999, this Hibernia oil platform extracted oil about 315 kilometres southeast of St. John's, Newfoundland. The provincial and federal governments disagreed over sharing royalties from the oil industry. How might this disagreement affect national unity?

The Federal System and National Unity

In the 1860s, Britain's remaining North American colonies were moving toward Confederation. At the same time, civil war broke out in the United States. This war was caused, in part, by a continuing power struggle between the federal and state governments.

When the American Constitution came into force in 1789, it gave states a great deal of power. In some areas, they were more powerful than the federal government. In 1861, the Southern states believed that state rights were all important. They joined together and announced they would leave the United States and form a new country called the Confederate States of America. This action sparked the Civil War.

In Canada, John A. Macdonald and others watched the terrible destruction going on across the border. They wanted to avoid a similar conflict in Canada. As a result, they agreed that federal and provincial or territorial governments would share some powers. But the federal government would have most of the key decision-making powers. Any powers that were not specifically mentioned in the British North America Act, the British act that created the nation-state of Canada, would belong to Ottawa.

This situation changed in 1982, when the Constitution was **patriated** — transferred from Britain to the control of the Canadian government. The 1982 Constitution gave the provinces new rights and powers, such as exclusive control over resource development. This had been a key demand put forward by Alberta.

VOICES

Whatever you do, adhere to the Union. We are a great country and shall become one of the greatest in the universe if we preserve it; we shall sink into insignificance and adversity if we suffer it to be broken.

— John A. Macdonald, who would become Canada's first prime minister, 1861

Equality and Fairness in a Federal System

When citizens believe they are treated fairly and equally, they are more likely to feel a sense of belonging to their country or nation. In a country as large and diverse as Canada, ensuring that all citizens feel as if they are treated fairly and equally presents many challenges — and can affect people's sense of national unity.

Equalization Payments

The federal government must ensure that all Canadians — no matter where they live — have equal access to public services. These services include health care and social services, electricity, and clean water. Since 1957, the Canadian government has used a system of **equalization payments** to try to achieve this goal.

The government receives the money for these payments from taxes it collects from Canadian individuals and businesses. Tax revenue is distributed to provinces that are in need. The provincial governments that receive the payments then decide how to spend the money.

The formula for calculating equalization payments is complex. And provincial governments — and citizens in those provinces — do not always agree with federal government decisions. Prosperous provinces often claim that their taxpayers contribute too much to the program. Less prosperous provinces sometimes say they do not receive enough in equalization payments.

The statistics in Figure 15-10 show the distribution of equalization payments in 2008–2009. Which provinces received no equalization payments? How might these payments affect national unity?

Figure 15-10 Distribution of Equalization Payments, 2008–2009

Province	Payment Received ($ Millions)	Population (2008 Estimate)
Newfoundland and Labrador	$158	508 099
Prince Edward Island	$322	140 000
Nova Scotia	$1465	935 573
New Brunswick	$1584	751 250
Manitoba	$2063	1 193 566
Québec	$8028	7 730 612
Total	$13 620	11 258 189

Source: Department of Finance Canada and Statistics Canada

Changing Equalization Payments

As economic conditions change, the federal government often faces challenges in trying to distribute equalization payments fairly.

In 2008, for example, Ontario was the only province that had never received equalization payments — yet it contributes a large share of the equalization funds. The Ontario government complained that the equalization payments it was sending to the federal government were hurting Ontarians. Premier Dalton McGuinty said that Ontario sent about $20 billion a year to the federal government — and that this money should be used to improve social programs in Ontario.

Dale Orr, chief economist of Global Insight (Canada), agreed. He said that in 2006–2007, Ontario could afford to spend only $6241 a person for programs like health care and education. Newfoundland and Labrador, which received equalization payments, spent $9125 a person during the same period.

If the high payments continued, McGuinty said, Ontario would soon be eligible to receive equalization payments. Meanwhile, Premier Danny Williams of Newfoundland and Labrador said that his province might soon be able to start paying, rather than receiving, equalization payments.

Picturing Issues Affecting National Unity

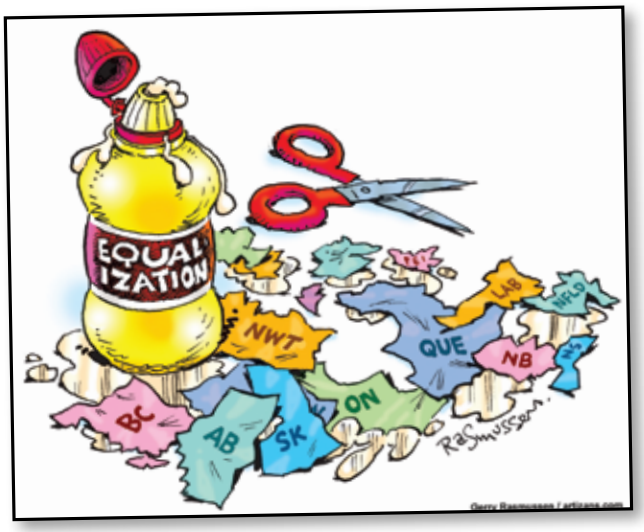

Figure 15-11 **Equalization Payments**

Gerry Rasmussen created this cartoon in 2005 as a comment on how equalization payments affect Canadian unity. At the time, federal and provincial leaders were trying to agree on a formula for calculating how much each province should either contribute or receive.

Figure 15-12 **Québécois as a Nation**

In November 2006, federal politicians were debating Stephen Harper's motion which stated that the Québécois are a nation within a united Canada. Michael de Adder drew this cartoon to show his opinion of the recurring issue of Canadian unity.

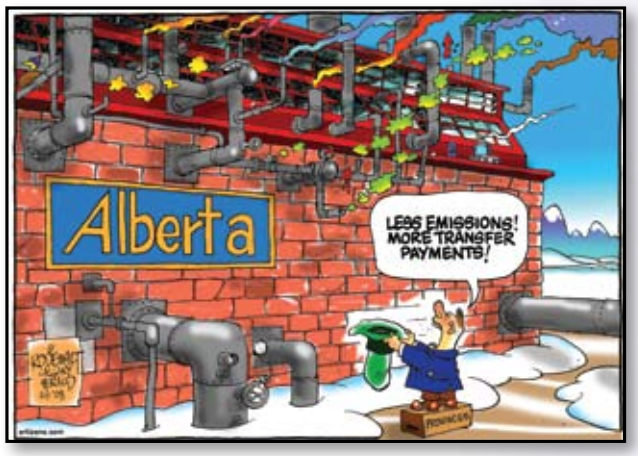

Figure 15-13 **Settling Provincial Issues**

In February 2008, Canadian provincial premiers met to discuss what to do about climate change and equalization- or transfer-payment issues. Calgary cartoonist Vance Rodewalt showed the provinces' conflicting ideas in response to these issues.

Figure 15-14 **Economic Changes**

In May 2008, Bruce Mackinnon created this cartoon to comment on the changing economic outlooks for Ontario and Newfoundland and Labrador. Premier Dalton McGuinty of Ontario is asking Premier Danny Williams of Newfoundland and Labrador for money.

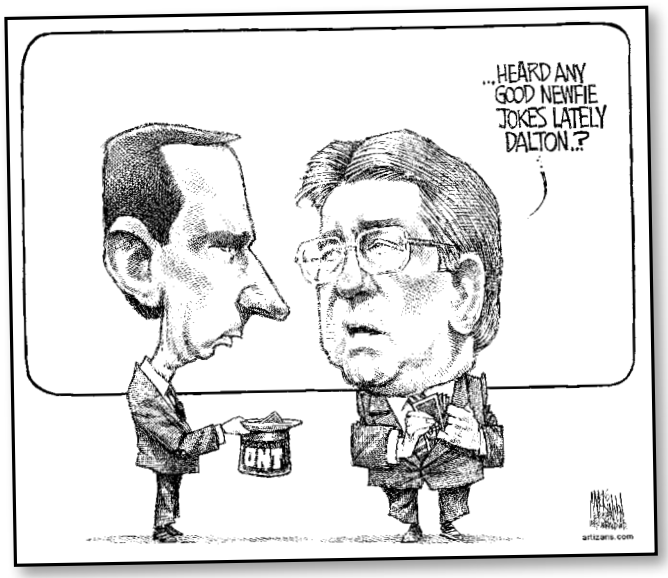

Figure 15-15 **Migrating Workers**

In September 2007, people were migrating to Alberta from the Atlantic region in search of jobs. Cartoonist Bruce Mackinnon drew this cartoon to comment on the effect of the loss of skilled workers in the Atlantic provinces.

Political Representation

Canada's population is spread unevenly across the country. In January 2008, for example, the population of Nunavut was a little more than 30 000. Alberta's population was 3.5 million, and Ontario's was 13 million. Population differences like these make it a challenge to ensure that all Canadians and all regions are represented fairly in Parliament.

Canada's provinces and territories are geographically, culturally, politically, and demographically diverse. This diversity has always demanded a method of representation that is more complex than just one person, one vote.

About two-thirds of Canadians, for example, live in Ontario and Québec. If each Canadian's vote had equal weight, Parliament would be filled with representatives from Ontario and Québec. The voices of people in smaller provinces and territories, such as Prince Edward Island and Yukon, would rarely be heard.

To resolve this challenge, a compromise was built into the Confederation agreement. This compromise affected the way seats in Parliament were allocated. As the country has changed since then, the formula for allocating seats to provinces and territories has also changed. In 1907, for example, Alberta had seven seats in Parliament. In 2008, Alberta had 28 seats.

Figure 15-16 Federal Representation in Selected Provinces

Number of MPs	Population (2008 Estimate)	People Represented by Each MP (2008 Estimate)
Alberta — 28	3.5 million	125 000
British Columbia — 36	4.5 million	125 000
Ontario — 106	13 million	123 000
Prince Edward Island — 4	140 000	35 000

Examine the data in Figure 15-16. Explain how these figures might be interpreted as challenges and opportunities that can affect national unity.

Figure 15-17 In January 2007, the Kutsyh family became Canadian citizens. The Kutsyhs immigrated to Edmonton from Russia in 2004. How has increased immigration changed ideas about national identity in Canada?

Official Multiculturalism

In the second half of the 20th century, Canada began to welcome immigrants from many different parts of the world. And in 1971, Canada became the first country to adopt multiculturalism as official government policy. This policy was affirmed in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and strengthened in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988.

The changed immigration policies changed the character of Canada. By 2006, an estimated one in every six Canadians was a member of a visible minority group. This statistic presents unique challenges and opportunities.

All governments — federal, provincial, territorial, and municipal — needed to find ways to balance

- Canada's traditions
- a vision of the future that Canadians of all heritages could unite behind and promote

With a partner, identify three ways that multiculturalism can contribute to national unity. Share your thoughts with the class.

Québec Sovereignty and National Unity

One of the greatest challenges to Canadian national unity has been the rise of Québec nationalism. And one of the greatest challenges to Québec nationalism has been the federal government's ability to convince Québécois that Canada is their country. The tension created by these challenges shapes the "Québec issue."

Within Québec, some Francophones have always wanted greater self-determination. In the 1962 provincial election, the Québec Liberal Party voiced this desire when it adopted the slogan "Maîtres chez nous" — "Masters in our own house." This slogan helped define the Quiet Revolution that occurred during the 1960s. Some Francophones wanted Québec to have greater control over its own affairs.

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You read about the Quiet Revolution in Chapters 8 and 13.

Challenges for Francophones across Canada

The debate over affirming and promoting the French language and culture often focused on Québec. Francophones outside the province were often ignored.

But many provinces, including New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba, and Alberta, have large French-speaking communities, though these communities form only a small part of each province's total population.

Each of these provinces has ruled against the French language at some point. In 1892, for example, the government of the North-West Territories, which included the present-day provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, ruled that only English could be spoken in the legislature. In 1871, New Brunswick outlawed the teaching of French in schools, and in 1930, Saskatchewan barred the teaching of French, even outside school hours.

Figure 15-18 On May 17, 1963, Sergeant Major Walter Leja (right) of the Canadian Forces helped dismantle bombs planted by the FLQ in Montréal. The last bomb Leja tried to disarm exploded in his hands. Leja was badly wounded.

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

In 1963, talk of separation was growing in Québec. In May, an extremist separatist group called the Front de Libération du Québec, or FLQ, started a terrorist campaign by planting bombs in mail boxes.

The federal government realized that a problem was becoming serious. By August 1963, it had set up the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Commissioners asked people across Canada about French–English relations and tried to find ways to resolve conflicts and maintain national unity.

After listening to people across the country, the commissioners warned that Canada was facing a serious crisis. They said that

- most Francophones were shut out of positions of economic and decision-making power, even in Québec
- Francophone minorities outside Québec did not have the same educational opportunities as the anglophone minority in Québec
- many Francophones could not get jobs in the federal government and could not access federal services in French

Web Connection

To learn more about the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Reactions to the B and B Commission

From the beginning, the B and B Commission aroused suspicions in parts of Canada. Some people in the West viewed it as a government trick to force them to learn French. Many people in Québec believed it was designed to distract people from the province's social and economic problems.

Some Aboriginal peoples said the commission's focus was too narrow because it did not acknowledge their existence. Ethel Grand Monteur of the National Indian Council said that First Nations people should have been invited to be part of the commission. "We have no intention of being the forgotten people in our own homeland," she said.

The federal government acted quickly on many of the commissioners' recommendations. The government, for example, offered federal funds to encourage provinces to provide more French-language education. New Brunswick declared itself officially bilingual. In addition, a federal department of multiculturalism was created — and this led to changes in Canada's policies toward all minorities.

VOICES

We believe in two official languages and in a pluralist society not merely as a political necessity but as an enrichment.

— Pierre Trudeau, introducing the Official Languages Bill, 1968

It is simply difficult — extremely difficult — for someone to become bilingual in a country that is not. And make no mistake. Canada is not a bilingual country. In fact, it is less bilingual today than it has ever been.

— Stephen Harper, in the Calgary Sun, *2001*

Official Bilingualism

One of the most important outcomes of the B and B Commission was the Official Languages Act, which was passed by the Liberal government of Prime Minster Pierre Trudeau in 1969.

The goals of the Official Languages Act were to

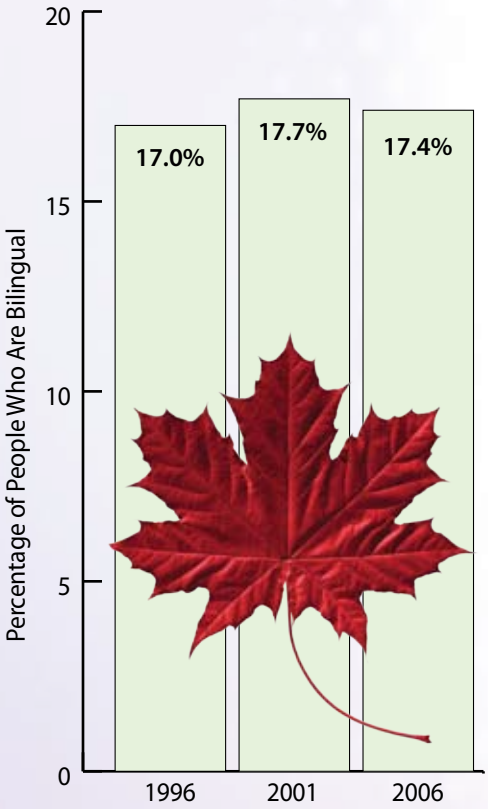
- affirm French and English as official languages of Canada
- preserve and develop official language communities in Canada
- guarantee that federal services are available in both official languages
- ensure that anglophones and Francophones have equal opportunities to participate in Parliament and federal institutions, such as the courts and the federal civil service

Since 1969, this act has been changed and strengthened a number of times. But as immigration began to increase in the last half of the 20th century, the number of languages spoken in Canada also increased. In the 2006 census, for example, 20 per cent of Canadians said that they speak at least one non-official language at home. For the government, this has intensified the challenge of promoting official bilingualism.

Examine the data in Figure 15-19. If you were asked to judge the success of official bilingualism on the basis of this graph alone, what conclusion might you reach? What other evidence would you want to examine before making a judgment on this issue?

Then read the words of Pierre Trudeau and Stephen Harper in "Voices" and consider whether the B and B Commission has had a positive or negative effect on national unity. Show your assessment on a continuum with "negative effect" at one end and "positive effect" at the other. Be prepared to defend your judgment.

Figure 15-19 English–French Bilingualism in Canada, 1996–2006



THE VIEW FROM HERE

Although Canada patriated its Constitution in 1982, Québec did not sign the agreement. Since then, two attempts to include Québec in the Constitution have failed. In a 1995 referendum, Québécois narrowly supported remaining part of Canada. Since then, debate has continued over trying again to bring Québec into the Constitution.

Angus Reid was the founder and chief executive officer of the Angus Reid Group, a polling company. In 1991, Reid argued that it was time to amend the Constitution to maintain Canadian unity.

> I believe we have a unique window of opportunity in Canada to undertake the significant changes that are required to keep this country together . . . The way to the future really only has two paths. One involves the development of a new constitution for all of Canada and the other involves the complete separation of Québec and the possible breakup of the rest of Canada.

Ovide Mercredi, former national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, said that Aboriginal peoples should be involved in all negotiations on constitutional change. He made the following remarks in a 1999 online series sponsored by the Dominion Institute.

> We can all agree that the participation of aboriginal peoples in the restructuring of Canada might bring more challenges in the quest for unity. But to exclude aboriginal peoples, because too many challenges increase the likelihood of failure, is dishonest and cowardly. To favour political expediency rather than to face reality mocks Canada's deeply cherished principles of democracy and fairness for all.

Jack Layton, leader of the New Democratic Party, made the following remarks in a speech at the 2006 NDP convention in Québec City.

> The NDP wants to put forward solutions and a vision that will make Québecers want to stay and build a social democratic, progressive country with their allies in English Canada. It is our duty to put forward a vision that will allow Québec to proudly stay in Canada — a Canada that respects Québec.

EXPLORATIONS

1. In your own words, explain the position of each speaker.
2. Québec did not sign the 1982 Constitution. Later, both the Meech Lake Accord and the Charlottetown Accord — attempts to include Québec — failed. Think about your understanding of Canada as a nation, Canada's national interest, and the diversity of Canadian society. What do you think might be the most effective way to achieve unity on this issue?

Are sovereignty and self-determination the same thing?

Aboriginal Self-Determination and National Unity

Self-determination often demands a degree of self-government. Aboriginal peoples believe that self-determination is an **inherent right** — a right that exists because they occupied the land and governed themselves for thousands of years before Europeans arrived in North America. Finding a balance between the needs and goals of Aboriginal peoples and all Canadians presents both challenges and opportunities.

Although Canada's 1982 Constitution recognized "Aboriginal rights," it did not say whether these rights included self-determination and self-government. Some politicians, such as Paul Martin, who was prime minister from 2003 to early 2006, agreed that Aboriginal rights include self-determination, but this was never made official.

More recently, the Canadian government has refused to support the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. This declaration affirms Aboriginal peoples' right to self-determination — and to self-government in "matters relating to their internal and local affairs."

Over the years, however, the Nisga'a of British Columbia and the Inuit of Nunavut and Nunavik have negotiated agreements that provide a form of self-determination. When negotiating agreements like these, the Canadian government says that federal, provincial, territorial, and Aboriginal laws must work in harmony.

Figure 15-20 In 2007, Chief Mike Retasket of the Bonaparte Indian Band in British Columbia addressed a rally on the National Day of Action organized by the Assembly of First Nations. On the stage, organizers included a large Canadian flag. What message might the decision to include this flag have sent?

Self-Government

Wilton Littlechild, an Ermineskin Cree and Alberta regional chief of the Assembly of First Nations, says that granting Aboriginal peoples the right to self-government is long overdue. Littlechild has worked for Indigenous peoples' rights at the United Nations. He says that Aboriginal governments "were recognized in treaties between nations. They were recognized in royal proclamations, constitutions and domestic laws. They were recognized by all the European and Canadian governments that have come and gone over the intervening 500 years."

The 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples made recommendations about how Aboriginal self-government could work. Aboriginal peoples in Canada have continued to develop plans for self-government — among themselves and with the federal government.

Many Aboriginal people believe that their form of self-government must be based on the beliefs and practices of people in their communities. Littlechild, for example, says this model of self-government will work because "it is born from within our traditions. It respects our ways of dealing with each other and respects all those who have an interest and perspective to share."

In your own words, sum up Littlechild's position. On the basis of his statements, what prediction(s) would you make about the future of Canadian and Aboriginal national unity?

Aboriginal Land Claims and National Unity

In recent decades, a few of the hundreds of outstanding Aboriginal land claims have been settled. The James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement of 1975 started the process. Since then, other claims, such as that of the Nisga'a of British Columbia, have also been settled.

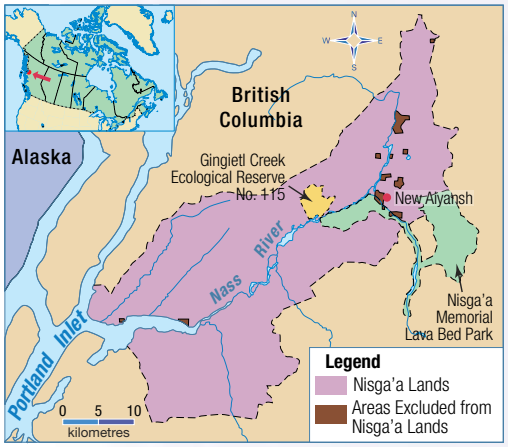
But for Aboriginal peoples, the pace of settlements has also been very slow. Though specific land claims are not always tied to self-government, the two issues often affect each other. Both land claims and self-government may also affect non-Aboriginal Canadians' attitudes toward national identity and national unity. A 2001 *National Post* — COMPAS poll found that non-Aboriginal Canadians are nearly evenly divided over whether Aboriginal peoples are entitled to self-government.

The Nisga'a Agreement

The Nisga'a agreement was a major event for Aboriginal peoples in Canada. After overcoming many challenges, the governments of Canada, British Columbia, and the Nisga'a Nation finally reached agreement in 1998. Like many B.C. First Nations, the Nisga'a had never signed a treaty. The new agreement confirmed their right to control 2000 square kilometres of traditional territory in the Nass River area. It also affirmed the Nisga'a Nation's right to make their own decisions on issues relating to culture, language, public works, land use, health, child welfare, education, and mineral resources.

Through this agreement, the Nisga'a gained a degree of self-determination, but they also recognized the authority of the Canadian government. In what ways might this agreement affect Canadian national unity? Nisga'a national unity?

Figure 15-21 Nisga'a Territory



To see a map of Canada, turn to the map appendix.

Nunavut

On April 1, 1999, the new territory of Nunavut was created. Since then, the government of Nunavut, where 85 per cent of people are Inuit, has gradually taken over responsibility for its own administration. To enhance unity in the territory, *quajimajatuganit* — traditional Inuit knowledge and values — plays an important role in developing government policies. Healing circles, for example, are a traditional practice that has become part of the justice system.

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. List five challenges to Canadian national unity explored in this section and five strategies the federal government has used to address those challenges. Record your responses on a chart like the one shown.

Challenges to National Unity	
Challenge	Federal Government Strategy

2. With a partner, list five strategies the federal government could put into practice to reinforce Canadian national unity.

   With another pair, develop a combined list of the five strategies that you believe are the most practical. Explain your choices.

GEOREALITY

Nunavik and the New North

In March 2008, a historic agreement came into force. It created a form of self-government in the northern third of Québec. This area, which is called the Regional Government of Nunavik, covers nearly 507 000 square kilometres and is home to about 10 000 people. Most of the people are Inuit.

Nunavik

Nunavik includes all territory east of Hudson Bay and north of the 55th parallel. The region will remain part of Québec, but the people of Nunavik will elect their own government to administer local services such as education and health care.

Prime Minister Stephen Harper announced the agreement. He said, "It took 30 years to bring it to fruition, but this historic milestone hails the dawn of a new era for the Nunavimmiut [residents of Nunavik]." According to Harper, the agreement resolved issues of land and resource ownership and usage rights.

Many Nunavimmiut hope that the agreement will also encourage people to invest in the region and to develop some of Nunavik's rich mineral resources, such as nickel and uranium. The investment and development should bring new jobs and greater prosperity to the region.

A Different Model

The Nunavik agreement is different from other land-claim settlements in Canada. Nunavik will have a form of parliamentary government similar to the system that exists in Ottawa and the provinces. The settlement is also unlike other agreements because it is not based on ethnicity. It involves everyone who lives in Nunavik.

The Nunavik regional government will receive money from both the federal and Québec governments. Revenues will also come from the royalties created by resource development. This revenue source creates great opportunities for the people of Nunavik, but it also creates challenges. The people of Nunavik will assume responsibility for sustaining the region's fragile environment.

Life in the Arctic Ecozones

An **ecozone** is an area of the earth's surface that represents a large ecological zone and has characteristic landforms and climate. Most of Nunavik is in the Southern Arctic Ecozone or the Taiga Shield Ecozone.

The entire region is dry year round, with cool summers and very cold winters. This environment has always presented special challenges and opportunities to Inuit. They have developed effective strategies for surviving in the harsh conditions. Traditionally, these strategies relied on hunting and fishing.

Both the Northern and Southern Arctic Ecozones have sensitive ecosystems and limited biodiversity — a small number of different plants and animals. The Northern Arctic Ecozone, for example, includes fewer than 20 species of mammals, including caribou and walrus.

In a sensitive ecosystem, a small change in climate can cause dramatic changes in biodiversity. Some scientists say, for example, that climate change is causing a decline in the number of caribou across northern Canada. Caribou are a source of food and clothing for Inuit.

Though the Inuit way of life has contributed little to the warming that is taking place in the Arctic, climate change threatens the traditional Inuit lifestyle. The Nunavik agreement is unlikely to help the Inuit control climate change, but it may provide the tools they need to adapt to the changes.

Figure 15-22 Nunavik Region of Québec

To see a map of Canada, turn to the map appendix.

Changing Traditions

The traditional Inuit way of life has changed because of

- climate change
- population growth
- easier and faster transportation and communications
- urbanization

These changes have sometimes strained people's sense of identity and unity.

In the past, for example, Inuit often found it easier to travel in winter, when trails were hard and frozen. But climate change has made some traditional winter trails unsafe. The trails freeze and thaw earlier, and some no longer freeze solidly enough to carry the weight of travellers.

Contemporary technology is helping Inuit overcome these risks. They use broadcast weather reports, global positioning devices, the Internet, and maps on CD-ROM.

But some Elders are concerned that the new technologies are changing what it means to be Inuit. They fear people are losing their sense of national unity.

New Challenges and Opportunities

The economies of northern and southern Canada are becoming more integrated. This creates both challenges and opportunities for the Inuit.

Resource development is a growing industry — and this has given young Inuit opportunities to train for work in jobs such as prospecting, mining, operating heavy equipment, carpentry, and administration.

Tourism is also growing. Nunavik attracts hunters and fishers from the South. Ecotourism — travelling to natural areas without damaging the environment — is also becoming important and has created many jobs.

Tourism and mining jobs are replacing the traditional lifestyles of the people in Nunavik. To work at these jobs, school-based education is essential for Inuit youth.

But many young people in the North believe they are receiving mixed messages. On the one hand, they are told to stay in school to improve their chances of getting a job. On the other hand, they are encouraged to honour and maintain Inuit values and their traditional way of life. These conflicting messages can create a sense of alienation that makes it difficult for Inuit to maintain a unified sense of identity.

Figure 15-23 These photographs show the community of Akulivik in winter and summer. Akulivik lies north of the tree line on the eastern shore of Hudson Bay in the Northern Arctic Ecozone. What challenges might this environment present?

EXPLORATIONS

1. When Stephen Harper announced the Nunavik agreement, he referred to "Nunavimmiut." Explain the significance of Harper's choice of this word rather than the word "Inuit."
2. The agreements relating to the Nisga'a, Nunavut, and Nunavik provide three different models for achieving self-determination and self-government. Which do you believe is most effective from the point of view of a) Canada and b) the people of the territory involved?

   Explain the reasons for your judgment.
3. The agreement that created Nunavik may become a model for similar agreements in other parts of Canada. If this happens, how might it affect a) First Nations people and b) Non-First Nations Canadians?

   Would this model affect Canadian unity? Explain.

How has the changing face of Canada affected national unity?

Increased globalization, ease and speed of travel, new technologies, and world events have all contributed to changes in Canada. Many of these changes have strengthened Canadian unity. But some people believe that some changes are dividing Canadians and having a negative effect on national unity.

Emerging Trends

In the 21st century, various trends — both inside Canada and internationally — are likely to affect Canadian unity. The effects of some of these trends, such as changing immigration patterns and economic globalization, can already be seen.

Immigration

The population of Canada increasingly reflects all the nations of the world. The 2006 census provided a snapshot of this "new" Canada.

- Canada's foreign-born population grew four times faster than the Canadian-born population.
- 58.3 per cent of recent immigrants came from Asia, including the Middle East, compared with 12 per cent in 1971.
- More than 20 per cent of Canadians speak neither English nor French as their first language. This was up from 18 per cent in 2001.
- After English and French, Chinese languages are the most commonly spoken languages.
- The percentage of bilingual (English–French) anglophones outside Québec dropped to 13 per cent from 16.3 per cent in 1996.
- More than 60 per cent of immigrants choose to live in Canada's three largest cities: Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver.
- More than 80 per cent of Canadians live in urban centres.

In June 2007, Lawrence Martin, author and political columnist for *The Globe and Mail*, said that immigration is one of the most important issues facing Canadians. He wrote that immigration is redefining Canada and is the key to the country's economy. "Immigration will determine our population size, our post-9/11 security, our social cohesion, our multicultural fabric. It will determine the identity of the new Canada," he said.

In 2006, the British-based polling company Ipsos MORI surveyed people in eight countries, including Canada. The purpose of the poll was to assess attitudes toward immigration. The results are shown in Figure 15-24. Examine these results. How do Canadians' attitudes toward immigrants differ from the attitudes of people in other countries? What might account for this? How might this affect Canadian unity and identity?

Voices

Our world has been transformed by changes . . . It is time to define ourselves by what we want to do, and what we need to do, in the future, rather than what we might have failed to do in the past.

— *Joe Clark, former prime minister of Canada, in* A Nation Too Good to Lose: Renewing the Purpose of Canada

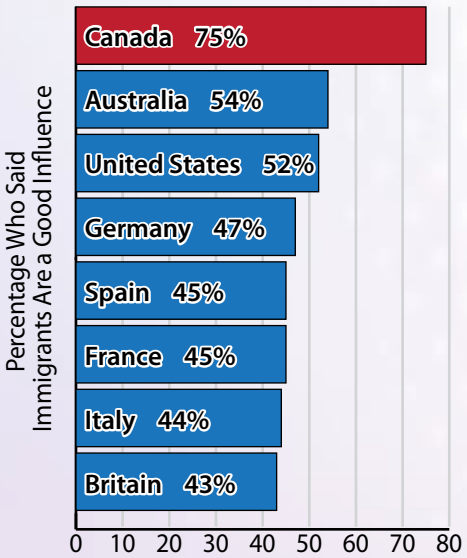
Web Connection

To learn more about changes in Canada's population and projections for the future, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Figure 15-24 Immigrant Influence

Overall, would you say immigrants are having a good or bad influence on the way things are going in [country]?



Urbanization

In 1901, only about 37 per cent of Canada's population lived in urban areas. By 1956, this number had grown to 67 per cent, and by 2001, to more than 80 per cent.

In addition, most of the 1.8 million immigrants to Canada during the 1990s settled in urban areas. About 73 per cent settled in three large cities: Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver.

This trend means that Canada's large urban centres are growing rapidly — and this has created challenges. As people move to cities, they need places to live and services such as transit and education. In some cities, keeping up with the demand for homes and services has strained resources. The trend also means that some cities, such as Toronto, have become so large that they are demanding a greater say in decisions that used to be made by the federal and provincial governments.

If the urbanization trend continues, how do you think Canada is likely to be affected? Is increasing urbanization likely to unite or divide Canadians? Explain your responses.

Figure 15-25 In 2006, Edmonton artist Gerry Rasmussen created this cartoon to comment on the effect of urbanization on Canadian farmers. How might the loss of farmland affect Canadian national identity?

Aboriginal Peoples

In the 2006 census, more than one million people identified themselves as Aboriginal, the highest number since the federal government started keeping records. Aboriginal peoples are the fastest-growing segment of Canada's population. Between 1996 and 2006, the Aboriginal population increased by more than 45 per cent, while the non-Aboriginal population increased by only 8 per cent. Aboriginal peoples now make up 3.8 per cent of people in Canada, compared with 2.8 per cent in 1996.

Of the three Aboriginal groups — First Nations, Métis, and Inuit — the greatest growth occurred among those who identified themselves as Métis. Their number increased by 91 per cent. Statistics Canada said that some of this growth is the result of a higher-than-average birth rate, but it also said that more people are now identifying themselves as Métis.

Examine the information in "FYI" and Figure 15-26. Think about the effects of these trends. How are the growing population and increasing urbanization of Aboriginal peoples likely to affect their sense of national identity? Are these trends likely to strengthen or weaken Canadian unity? Explain your responses.

FYI

In 2006, for the first time in history, a majority of Aboriginal people — 54 per cent — lived in urban areas. Winnipeg is home to Canada's largest concentration of Aboriginal people, who make up 10 per cent of the city's total population. Edmonton is second on the list, and Calgary is fourth.

Figure 15-26 Growth in Aboriginal Populations, 1996–2006

	1996	2006	Percentage Increase
People Who Identified Themselves as Aboriginal	799 010	1 172 790	+46.8%
First Nations	529 040	698 025	+29%
Métis	204 115	389 785	+91%
Inuit	40 220	50 485	+26%

Source: Statistics Canada, 1996 and 2006 Census

Economic Globalization

The world's economy has become increasingly globalized, and trade agreements among countries are becoming common. Most countries use these agreements to try to provide for the needs and wants of their citizens. But providing prosperity and economic stability offers many challenges, as well as opportunities.

For **economic nationalists** — people who believe that a country's businesses and industries should be protected — trade agreements are often a double-edged sword. On the one hand, increased trade may provide citizens with economic prosperity. On the other hand, trade agreements may threaten a country's ability to make decisions that are in the best interests of its citizens.

In the late 1980s, the Conservative government of Brian Mulroney negotiated a free-trade agreement with the United States. In 1994, this agreement was extended to include Mexico. Since then, Canada has also extended free trade to Chile and Columbia and is negotiating free-trade agreements with China and Europe.

Canadians disagree about the benefits of these agreements. Ontario, for example, relied on manufacturing jobs to provide economic stability to its citizens. But free trade meant that manufacturers were free to move their plants to other countries. The manufacturers saved money because, in those countries, workers are paid less and receive fewer benefits. In addition, environmental standards are often lower. When these plants moved out of Ontario, workers lost their jobs.

VOICES

This is an important moment for Canada. Well below the radar screen and unknown to most Canadians, a serious commitment has now been undertaken by their government to create a North American fortress with a common economic, security, resource, regulatory, and foreign policy framework.

— *Maude Barlow, chair of the Council of Canadians, in* Too Close for Comfort: Canada's Future in Fortress North America, *2005*

Canadian Space Technology

In May 2008, the Conservative government of Prime Minister Stephen Harper prevented the sale of Canadian space technology to an American defence contractor. MacDonald, Dettwiler and Associates — MDA — is a Canadian company with headquarters in British Columbia. MDA had planned to sell its space technology division to American-owned Alliant Techsystems for $1.3 billion.

Blocking the sale was the first time a government had used the Investment Canada Act, which was passed in 1985, to prevent the sale of a Canadian company to foreign owners. The act says that when Canadian businesses valued at more than a specified amount — $295 million in 2008 — are going to be sold to non-Canadians, the sale must be reviewed. The sale must benefit Canadians. Since this act was introduced, Investment Canada has approved the sale of nearly 1600 Canadian companies to non-Canadian owners.

MDA's space technology division includes the Canadarm and Dextre, a two-armed robot used on the International Space Station. MDA has also developed the Radarsat-2 satellite, which records environmental images and data. Much of the work on these technologies was funded by the Canadian Space Agency.

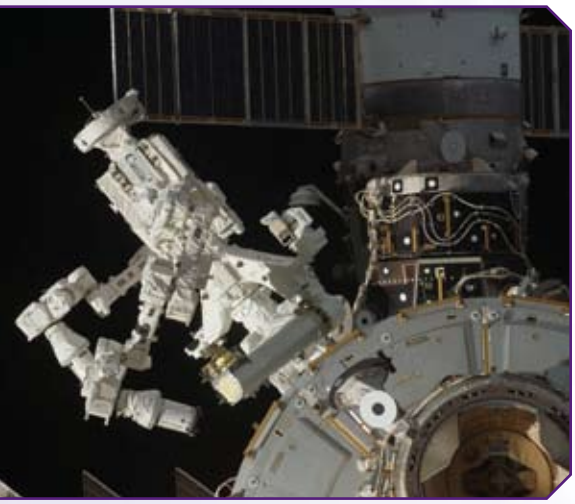


Figure 15-27 Dextre is a robot developed by MacDonald, Dettwiler and Associates in partnership with the Canadian Space Agency. It cost $200 million and was installed on the International Space Station in March 2008.

Canadian Reaction

Some Canadians reacted strongly to the proposed sale of MDA. Marc Garneau, the first Canadian to fly in space and a former head of the Canadian Space Agency, opposed the sale. He said that if MDA sold the company, it would be profiting from technology that had been developed using money collected from Canadian taxpayers. And Garneau added that more than economic benefit was involved. "It's an issue that touches on our sovereignty as a country," he said. "The fact is that [Radarsat-2] is very promising technology, which we can sell to the rest of the world . . . We should hold on to it."

The government's action renewed debate over whether — and when — foreign companies should be allowed to take over Canadian businesses. Dominic D'Alessandro, president and chief executive of Canadian-owned Manulife Financial, reflected the views of many Canadians when he said: "I sometimes worry that we may all wake up one day and find that as a nation, we have lost control of our affairs."

Web Connection

To find out more about the Canadian Space Agency, Canadarm, Dextre and Radarsat-2, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Taking Turns

Is economic globalization likely to increase — or decrease — Canadians' sense of national unity?

The students responding to this question are Jean, a Francophone student who lives in Calgary; Rick, who was born in the United States but moved to Fort McMurray with his family when he was 10; and Jane, who lives in Calgary and is descended from black Loyalists who fled to Nova Scotia after the American Revolution.

Jean

A sense of national unity? You're joking, right? I don't think Canadians feel a sense of national unity in the first place, so I don't see how economic globalization would affect it one way or the other. Canadians are more interested in being citizens of the world than in focusing only on Canada.

My family is pretty involved in the oil business here in Fort McMurray, and you just have to look around to see the benefits of economic globalization. Things are booming, and a booming economy helps Canada in lots of ways. When people are making a good living at good jobs, they feel more of a national identity. So yes, I would say that economic globalization will increase Canadian unity.

Rick

Jane

I'm not a big fan of economic globalization. And I think the huge multinational corporations are a real threat to national unity and to lots of other things we take for granted, like democratic processes. Will people one day have to decide between loyalty to a corporation and their country or nation? That isn't going to help national unity.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Jean, Rick, and Jane are answering? Explain the reasons for your response. How important is a sense of national unity?

THINK...PARTICIPATE...RESEARCH...COMMUNICATE...

1. In the 1990s, some people feared that the nation-state of Canada might not continue to exist as it had for more than a hundred years. The Meech Lake and Charlottetown constitutional accords had failed to win public support, and the 1995 Québec referendum on sovereignty was a "near-death experience" for Canadian federalists. In those years, former prime minister Joe Clark wrote a book titled *A Nation Too Good to Lose: Renewing the Purpose of Canada*. In this book, Clark suggested some strategies that ordinary citizens could follow to keep Canada united. The following are some of his suggestions:

Keeping Canada Together

1. Start discussions about Canada. Find some background material that can be circulated and serve as the basis of discussion. Invite a teacher or a community leader or any wise person to serve as moderator.
2. Invite speakers, either to informal neighbourhood discussions or meetings of existing organizations. The point would be to generate more understanding of the Canada you don't yet know.
3. Speak up for your country. Remind your friends and family about the United Nations' judgment that Canada is one of the best places in the world to live in.

a) On a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = least effective; 5 = most effective], rank Clark's suggestions. In point form, note one justification for each of your judgments.

b) Which recommendation(s) could be followed in your community or school?

c) Add two recommendations to the list. Explain the purpose of each additional suggestion.

2. With two other students, brainstorm to create a web of ideas about Canada and the world. Use the following questions to guide your brainstorming session.
   - What does it mean to be a citizen of Canada?
   - What might it mean to be a citizen of the world and of Canada at the same time?
   - What conflicts may arise between nationalism or national identity and internationalism?
   - What virtues, values, and qualities could Canadians export to the rest of the world?

   Join another group and compare ideas.

   As a class, discuss the ideas that have been generated.

3. In this chapter, you explored responses to the following inquiry questions:
   - What is national unity?
   - How does the nature of Canada affect national unity?
   - How has the changing face of Canada affected national unity?

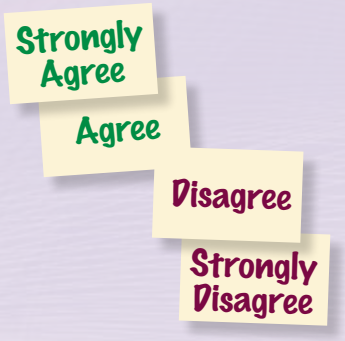
   a) Choose one of these questions and develop two or three powerful questions that connect the question you chose to your own experiences. If you chose the final question, for example, you might ask a question like this: How has my life been affected by the changing face of Canada?

   b) Join three or four other students and compare the powerful questions you developed. Discuss whether common themes emerge from this comparison.

   c) On the basis of this discussion, develop three powerful questions that could be asked about any of the inquiry questions explored in this chapter.

Skill Builder to Your Challenge

Develop an Informed Position



The challenge for Related Issue 4 asks you to participate in a four-corners debate and then work together to reach a consensus on the key course issue: To what extent should we embrace nationalism?

In this skill builder, you will develop your opening position for the debate on this statement: Individuals and groups in Canada should embrace a national identity.

You will decide on criteria for judgment, develop an opening position, discuss this position with others, and revise your position if necessary. As you complete this skill builder, you will hone your critical-thinking, research, and communication skills.

Step 1: Decide on criteria

Think about how you will develop your position for the debate. List two or three criteria you will use to guide your judgment. Express each criterion in the form of a question. (e.g., Embracing a national identity will be in the best interest of all people in Canada — Will embracing a national identity be in the best interest of all people in Canada?)

Step 2: Conduct research into the issue

Review your analysis of the four-corners debate statement which you completed at the end of Chapter 13 (see p. 311). Review your journal entries and sections of *Understanding Nationalism*. Collect supporting evidence for your position. Conduct additional research if necessary.

Jot down a possible starting position and the reasons you might take this position.

Step 3: Plan and draft a statement of your position

Draft a statement of your position explaining why you are taking that position. You may decide, for example, that you disagree with the debate statement because you think that creating a new country made up of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia would be in the best interest of the people in your community.

Step 4: Prepare your position statement

Move into a small group and discuss your starting position. Share your initial position and the reasons for your judgment. Listen to others' opinions and carefully consider the reasons for their decision. Ask questions to help you understand others' points of view. After listening carefully — and keeping an open mind — revise your position if necessary.

Prepare materials (e.g., graphics) that you will use to support your position. If you use graphics, make sure that they are large enough that everyone in the classroom can see them clearly.